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GOTHIC AND ENGLISH ETYMOLOGIES.

(1) Gothic *Stilan* IN LATIN.

A DIRECT comparison of the Germanic group of which Goth. *stilan* may be taken as the representative with *στερ-ῖσκει* 'robs' is phonetically invalid (see, e. g., Uhlenbeck *got. Woert.*, s. v.), though it may be ultimately true that the root STEL- is not alien to the root STER-. Stokes (in Fick's *Woert.* II, p. 314) gives what I regard as correct non-Germanic etymons in O. Ir. *slat* 'robbery' (from **stlatto-*) and Lat. *stl-ata* 'piratical ship.' The Latin glossaries amply attest this definition and it should pass without question, unless *stlata* be proved a borrowed word. I would see a further indubitable cognate in *tollit* 'lifts' (cf. the gloss *tollit* 'aufert, adimit,' and Eng. *lifts* 'steals'); *stl-ata* (with suffix like *pirata*?) belongs with *tollit*, both from a root with "movable" s-, s)TEL-/s)TOL-. The gloss *stlattarius* 'portator armorum,' if correctly transmitted, attests the sense of *tollit* generalized as in *tulit* 'portavit.'

Further cognates I would find in Lat. *mu(s)-stela* 'weasel' ('mouse-thief'), *stelio* (*stellio*) 'rogue'¹ and, in juridical Latin—of uncertain age but probably archaic—*stelionatus* (suffix as in *peculatus*?), glossed by 'crimen, quando una res duobus venditur, quomodo huius raptus huius speculatus' (? read *peculatus*), and further by *ἐπίθεσις* ('imposture') ἡ *χλεύη* ('jest'), and *κακουργία*.

The word *stelio* 'rogue' is attested by Pliny, N. H., 30, 89,

¹[Walde in his etymological Latin lexicon has also correlated *stelio* and Gothic *stilan*, but as the above essay was in the hands of Professor Karsten fully two years ago, I think it right to let my paragraph stand unchanged. Proofnote, Jan. 10, 1907.]

and by Apuleius, *Met.* 5, 30, and has been restored for *ms. scelio* in Petronius, *Cena*, 50. Pliny explains this use of *stelio* as a metaphor from *stelio* 'lizard,' *steliorum* nomine in maledictum translato. The metaphor may of course have gone conversely, from 'rogue' to 'lizard,' in view of the lizard's bad name (cf. Columella, 9, 7, *venenatus stelio*: Vergil, *Geo.*, 4, 242, *favos ignotus adedit | stelio*). The Romans seem to have explained to themselves the name of the *stelio* in at least two ways: (1), if we may trust a gappy citation of Verrius by Paulus-Festus (see de Ponor, I, p. 454), as 'qui virus stillat'; (2) as 'qui stellas in pelle habet,'¹ cf. Ovid, *Met.*, 5, 461, *variis stillatus* (others read *stellatus*) *corpore guttis* 'bedropped (bestarred?) with many drops.' To these ancient explanations may be added the possible derivation from **sterlio* (but *stellio* is not the best orthography): O. Bulg. *ja- šterŭ* (cf. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, s. v., *eidechse*).

If Leo Meyer (*Griech. Woert.* III, p. 57) is right in supposing a connection between *γαλή* 'mustela' and *γαλεώτης* 'stelio,' the same connection probably obtains between *mu(s)-stela* and *stelio* and, in view of the late Lat. *furo* 'weasel' (= 'the thief,' *par excellence*), it seems not improbable that *-stela* may have enjoyed an independent existence out of composition in the sense of 'weasel.' An association-group weasel × lizard may well have existed, whether we account for it on the ground of resemblance (1) in color or (2) in furtive habits. For (1) we may cit Germ. *kupfer-eidechse*, Ital. *ramarro*² 'lizard' (: *aeramen* 'bronze'), Gr. *χαλκίς* 'lizard' (: *χαλκός* 'bronze'), bearing in mind the reddish-brown color of the weasel.

Lat. *stolo* 'sucker' (of a tree) may also be referred to the root

¹ But Pliny, l. c., 29, 90, expressly denies that the Italian *stelio* was spotted; *hunc (sc. stelionem) Graeci coloten vocant et ascalaboten et galeoten. In Italia non nascitur, est enim hic plenus lentigine* (much spotted), *stridoris acerbi, et vescitur <araneis>*, quae omnia <a> nostris stelionibus aliena sunt.

² Also explained as a derivative of *ramus* 'bough.' If this be correct, then *stelio* 'lizard' is ultimately akin to Lat. *stolo* 'sucker, sprout' (see below). Further compare Sk. *pallī* 'lizard' with *pallavas* 'twig.'

STEL- 'to steal,' at least if we suppose it to exhibit the metaphor of Germ. *räuber* 'sucker;' a like notion in Eng. *parasite*, applied to growths like mistletoe, favors the direct comparison of *stolo* with *στελός* 'mistletoe.'

But *stolo* can hardly be separated from (1) *στολος* 'thole (-pin)'¹, *στελεόν* 'handle,' Germ. *stiel*, Eng. *stale*, *στάλιξ/σταλός* 'stake'; cf. Skr. *sthāṇús* 'peg,'—all cognates of (2) Skr. *sthālam*, *sthañ* 'elevation, height,' *sthālā* 'pile of earth' (see Uhlenbeck, ai. Woert. s. vv.). The latter, in their turn, should not, in my opinion, be separated from Skr. *talam* 'surface,' O. Bulg. *tilo* 'floor,' Lat. *tellus* 'earth.' The following, without the movable s-, are more closely allied in meaning to the former group, O. Eng. *pel*. 'board,' Eng. *thole* 'peg,' *thill* 'shaft,' here also belongs Lat. *telum* 'spear-shaft.'² At any rate, this derivation has greater simplicity than the current derivation of *telum* from **tex-lom* (: a root **tex-*). The semantic problem is apparently complex. At one extreme stands Skr. *sthālā* 'pile of earth,' at the other *σταλός* 'stake,' Eng. *thill* 'shaft,' but the semantic bridge is ready to our passage in Lat. *vallum* '*sthālā*,' but *vallus* '*σταλός*.'

The base, which we must now write s)T(H)EL-, is further attested in Skr. *sthalati* 'stands' (Dhātupāṭha), O. Bulg. *stel-jā* 'sterno,' *stolū* 'table, stool,' O. H. G. *stal* 'standing place,' O. Pruss. *stallit*³ 'stare,' *στέλλει* ('figit), ornat, parat.' But this base, though proethnic, was probably itself derivative. At least, as many etymologists have independently observed, s)T(H)EL- accords rather closely with s)THĀ- 'to stand,' even though we are not yet prepared to classify the phonetic relation between them. If, then, we define STHEL- by 'stare,' Skr. *sthālā*

¹Cf. *στέλ-μονίαι* 'studded pads to protect hunting dogs' (see Xenophon, Cyn. 6, 1).

²Cf. also the Latin glosses, without initial s-, *tolor* 'hasta,' *tolus* 'τριπτήρ' (= 'pestle'); and note Vergil's vigorous metaphor *telorum seges* (Aen. 3, 46), which is reminiscent of *stimulorum seges* (Plautus, Aul., 45).

³Here belongs Lat. *prae-stolor* 'I stand (waiting) before,' in which the connotation 'I wait' prevailed.

⁴Movable s- because of O. Ir. *tāu*, *tó* 'sum.'

'mound' is to be explained as a 'standing place,' and *σταλῖς* 'stake' is explicable like Doric *στά-λα*. The meanings of the various derivatives of *STHEL-* are best accounted for by starting with a nominal idea like 'stake,' which developed into various verbal concepts as 'to prop, set up, lift; pile, spread out; arrange in rows, ornare.' It may seem hard, in a word of generalized meaning like *στέλλει* 'ornat, parat,' to discern the original sense, but I long ago pointed out (*Am. Jr. Phil.*, 13, 465) that there were some special senses of *στέλλει* cognate with the sense of *tollit*, notably the nautical use 'furls;' for the ancient sail was undoubtedly furled by a process of 'hoisting, lifting' (see Baumeister's *Denkmaeler*, III, nos. 1656, 1657, 1687, 1700, 1703): cf. also *τέλλει* 'erhebt.' Meanings like those of *stolo* 'shoot, scion, sucker' are discernible in *τᾶλῖς*¹ 'virgo' (cf. *virga* 'stolo,' and *παρθένος*: *πτόρθος* 'virga'), *τηλεθάον* (*ἔρνος*) 'blooming (scion)', O. Bulg. *talya* 'ramus virens.'

(2) GREEK COGNATES OF GOTHIC *Spillon* 'TO TELL.'

Uhlenbeck (*Got. Woert.*, s. v., *spillon*) mentions with qualified approval Froehde's equation of *spillon* with Lat. *-pellare* in *appellare* 'to accost,' but that the sense 'accost' is of secondary development in Latin seems perfectly clear (see e. g., the *Thesaurus*). The notion of speaking to, addressing some one is a connotation: thus *appellare* is, in fairly close etymological rendering, 'to strike up with,' whence the sense 'to accost,' much as in Fr. *accoster*. The primary sense is still clearer in *interpellat* 'breaks in, interrupts,' a metaphor again freshly in evidence in the "butts in" of the slang dialect.

The dictionaries fight somewhat shy of Lat. *pellit*, questioning its connection with *πάλλει* (so both Stowasser and Menge, to mention recent Latin and Greek dictionaries that regard etymological questions). There can, in my opinion, be no doubt

¹ With secondary *ā* from lengthened *ō*?

of this connection; *πάλλει* = 'quatit' (shakes, brandishes) and *pellit* = 'quatit' (strikes, beats); note also *πεπαλόν* = *pepulit* (Brugmann, KVGr. § 651). The root to which these belong is s)P(H)EL-, found in Skr. *phálati* 'bursts' ('splits,' intrans.), *sphutati* 'bursts,' of which Gothic preserves a trace in *spilda* 'tabella' (see Brugmann, Gr. II, § 680). The verb *spillon*, if denominative to *spill* 'tale, fable,' may be purely a Germanic development, and so not likely to be found in any cognate language. If *spill* first meant—as Eng. *spell* 'incantation' would suggest—something written on a tabella, an announcement, the derived verb *spillon* would mean 'to announce.' On the other hand, if Uhlenbeck is right, as I believe, in reckoning Eng. *tale*, *tells* among the cognates of Skr. *dálati* 'bursts' (see his ai. Woert. s. v.), by the same token Goth. *spillon* may be connected with the root s)P(H)EL-; cf. also Fr. *deviser* 'colloquium habere,' which is derived from Lat. *divisum* 'divided' (i. e. 'split'), and note the semantic evidence given by Germ. *mittheilt*, Eng. *imparts*. One may mention, apropos of semantic groups like Eng. *tells* × Skr. *dálati* 'splits,' the vulgar use of Eng. *splits* = 'blabs' (tells on).¹

The rendering *blabs* suggests a closer non-Germanic cognate for *spillon*. For *blabs* is onomatopoetic, with a kindred motif to *babbles*, which has the two meanings of (1) 'speaks inarticulately like a child,' (2) 'tells tales, blabs.' We may accordingly group *spillon* 'to tell tales' with *ψελλός* (for **σπελλός*) 'babbling, speaking inarticulately,' with the understanding, of course, that *spillon* has reached a sphere of higher dignity.

It remains to discuss **σπελλός*. Is this an onomatopoetic word or does it contain the root s)P(H)EL- 'to split, break, strike?' The latter seems the more likely, but we may leave the point open, and proceed to search for other Greek cognates of s)P(H)EL-. With *ψ-/σπ-* *ψαλís* 'shears,' Aeolic *σπαλís*;

¹ Prellwitz in his Etym. Woert., s. vv. *ἐρυγεῖν σκόλαξ* twice suggests the association-group *cries aloud* × *breaks, splits*; further note Lat. *iactat*, Germ. *ansstoest* 'utters.'

ψάλιον 'curb,' Aeolic σπάλιον; ψέλιον 'bracelet,' Aeolic σπέλιον. In both ψάλιον and ψέλιον the original sense was 'strip, slip - *spill*,' in short. The cognate to which I attach particular importance is σπολάς 'leather garment,' akin to πέλ-τη ('leather') -shield,' and to Lat. *pellis* 'skin,' but even more closely to *spoliūm* 'skin stript from an animal, shed by a serpent' (Lucretius 4, 62, cf. the gloss λεβηρίς), whence by transfer 'spoils taken from a slain enemy.' The same semantic relations obtain in σκύλον (σκύλον) 'spolia': σκύλος (σκύλος) 'pellis.'

To the root s)P(η)EL- belongs also πέλας 'near,' for which the etymological definition is rather 'touching,' Germ. 'anstossend;,' here note the gloss *adpellit* 'προσπελάζει,' both used of bringing a ship near to land and each becoming now and then intransitive = 'to draw near, approach.' A more violent sense in Skr. *sphālayati* 'causes to strike,' cf. the Latin gloss *speltum* 'telum missile;,' παλτόν 'dart;,' also note πέλλα 'stone;,' Germ. *fels* 'cliff,' semantically clarified by Eng. *sca(u)r* 'rock, cliff' (: *shears*).

It has been the practice hitherto to compare σπολάς with στολή, στολής (: στέλλω) 'garment,' and to write for both a base SK^WEL-. But the generalized στέλλει means 'sets up, erects, dresses' (= ornat), as pointed out above, and στολή is a word of general sense like 'dress' (= ornatio). The whole range of meaning is exhibited in Fr. *dresser*, from *directiare* 'to erect, set up,' as continued in Eng. 'to dress.'

But the base SK^WEL- seems attested by Aeolic σπελ- = στελ-.¹ The evidence therefor consists of the following glosses, unattributed as to dialect, (1) εὔσπολον· εὐείμονα, εὔσταλέα, (2) σπολείσα· σταλείσα, (3) σπελλάμεναι· στειλάμεναι, (4) κασπελῆ· στορνύει, (5) κασπολέω· ὑποστρέφω (emended to ὑποστροφέω).

As to (1), εὔσπολον, we are sure enough of the definition to

¹ But note in Aeolic inscriptions ἀποστέλντες, etc. (see Hoffmann, *Dial.*, II, p. 355).

hazard a guess that it contains a cognate of *σπολός* 'leather garment,' though - *σπολο* - may have been generalized to 'dress.' As to (2) and (3), an explanation is difficult because the definitions of *στειλάμεναι* and *σταλείσα* may enjoy nearly all the range of *στέλλω*. But if we restrict *στειλάμεναι* to the sense of 'vestientes,' a connection with *εὔσπολον* and *σπολός*, generalized to 'vestis,' might still hold for *σπελλάμεναι*, while *σπολείσα* may be interpreted 'vestitus, ornatus.' Here I mention the old explanation by Doederlein of Lat. *palla*, *pallium* 'mantle,'—words perhaps ultimately of Greek provenance (cf. Stowasser, Lat. Woert. s. vv.), and cognate with *pellis* 'skin.' If originally Greek, and the Latin glosses write *πάλλιον*, then *pallium* : *πάλλει* (:s)PEL-) reminds of *περιβολή* : *βάλλει*, Lat. *am-ictus* : *iacit*.

Glosses (4) and (5) have a literary attest in Sappho, 81, *καὶ μὲν τε τύλαν κασπολέω* 'and down I spread the cushion;' cf. *ibid.*, 50, *ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ μαλθάκαν | τύλαν σπολέω μέλεα*, 'but I upon a soft cushion spread my limbs.' In either case 'I throw, cast' (= *iacio*) makes a good rendering, and supports the connection of *σπολεί* with *πάλλει*, Lat. *pellit*. The rendering 'I lay' (cf. *iacet* 'lies,' intrans. to 'lays') leaves nothing to be desired. The connection with *πάλλει*, Lat. *pellit*, is further confirmed by a study of the Epic verb *πίλναται*. It is customary, following Hesychius, I suppose, to define *πίλναται* by *προσπελάζει*, and this is at least sometimes a suitable definition, e. g. (1) in *Odys.* 13, 95, *νῆσφ προσεπίλνατο ποντοπόρος νηὺς* 'ad insulam appellebatur—navis;' cf. also (2) *Il.* 19, 93, *ἐπ' οὐδὲ | πίλναται* 'solo (non) appropinquat'; and (3) *Hymn. Dem.* 114 *τίπτε . . . οὐδὲ δόμοισι πίλνασαι* (MS. *πιλνᾶς*) 'cur . . . domibus non appropinquas?'

In other cases *appropinquat*, *appropinquare facit* makes a very inadequate rendering for *πίλναται*, e. g., (4) *Hesiod, Op.* 509, sq. *πολλὰς δὲ δρυὺς ἰψικόμους ἐλάτας τε παχείας | οὖρεος ἐν βήσσης πιλνᾶ* (sc. *βορέας*) 'multas autem ilices pinusque magnas in saltibus deicit Boreas; (5) *Il.* 23, 368, *ἄρματα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν χθονὶ πίλνατο πουλυβοτείρῃ | ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλξασκε*

μετήορα 'currus (= rotae) modo ad solum appellebantur modo saliebant aerii;' (6) Hesiod, Theog. 703 (describing a storm) ὡς ὅτε Γαῖα καὶ Ὀυρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθε | πίλνατο . . . | τῆς μὲν ἐρειπομένης, τοῦ δ' ὑψόθεν ἐξεριπόντος: these words seem to conceive of earth and heaven striking (πίλνατο) together to produce thunder. There remain but two other instances, (7) Odys. 6, 43, οὔτε χιῶν ἐπιπίλνεται 'neque nix cadit' (= deicitur); (8) Il. 22, 402, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται | κνανέαι πίλναντο¹ 'in utramque partem capilli—cadunt' (= deiciuntur).

In admitting that πίλνεται · προσπελάζει satisfies completely for examples (1), (2) and (3), we must not forget that *adpellit* is glossed by προσπελάζει, and that in both the root s)PEL-signifies 'to bring near by striking or driving' (cf. the Hesychian gloss πιλνόμενον · πηγγνόμενον), Germ. 'anstossen.' In examples (4), (5) and (6) the violent sense of 'iacit' is apparent, as in πάλλει and pellit. In (7) and (8) the sense of 'iacit' has become intransitive, nearer 'iacitur' than 'iacet,' however. In this connection we may note that Eng. *throws* (precisely = πάλλει) had an intransitive force 'falls, tumbles,' now grown obsolete.

The cognation of Aeolic σπολεῖ · στορνύει with πίλνεται is most transparent in example (4), where πιλνᾷ = 'deicit.' In both the Sappho examples σπολέω = 'deicio' offers a very good rendering. But we find the best illustration of the meanings of πίλνεται and σπολεῖ in Lith. *pilti* (1) 'prügeln' (= pellere), (2) 'aufschuetten' (= struere: sternere, στορνύναι)

(3) ENGLISH *steelyard* 'BALANCE.'

The earliest authority for this word is Cotgrave's French Dictionary (1660), which defined *crochet* as "a small hook . . . a Romane beam or *stelleere*, a beam of iron or wood," etc. The word *stelleere*, out of which *steelyard* has grown by

¹ Πίλναντο is the reading of the best MSS., was known to Eustathius, and to the scholiasts of Didymus, others of whom favored πίτναντο.

popular etymology, meant obviously 'beam, scale-beam,' and it does not seem venturesome to suppose it cognate with Eng. *stale* (also spelt *steal*, *steel*, *stele*; and cognate with Lat. *stolo*, treated above) 'stalk, stem, handle, rung of a ladder,' etc. The root s)T(H)EL-, discussed above, has the sense 'to lift' in Lat. *tollit*, and is also defined by 'to weigh,' on account of *τάλαντον* 'balance, scales.'

That this root ever meant 'to weigh' I do not believe. I interpret *τάλαντα* as 'scale-beam,' and derive it ultimately from the root s)THĀ- 'to stand,' extended by an *l*-determinative; perhaps *τάλ-αντα* is a compound, and meant originally 'beam-ends' (-*αντα* : Germ. *ende*, Skr. *āntas*). The Homeric word *σταθμός* 'balance' (cf. Lat. *sta-tera*) is a certain derivative of s)THĀ-,¹ cf. the locution *ἰστᾶν σταθμῶ τι πρὸς τι* (Herodotus), and note that *ἰστημι* means 'I weigh' (see Lidd. & Sc., s. v. A. iv). As the *σταθμός* and *τάλαντα* were beams used in weighing, so later *stelleere* was a name independently given to the scale-beam. Not only are we not justified in deriving the late, and isolated Eng. *stelleere* and *τάλαντα*, both = 'beam of a balance,' from a root s)T(H)EL- 'to weigh,' but we may infer no such root from *τάλαντα* : Skr. *tulā* 'beam of a balance.' We are only justified in inferring a nominal base s)T(H)EL- 'beam,' and from this base the three nouns may each be said to spring, though, as *stelleere* is not of record prior to 1660, it cannot be held to be a transmission of the original base in the specific sense of 'scale-beam.'

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¹The form of *σταθμός* pictured in Fougères, *Vie Publique et Privée*, No. 690, in which the beam is balanced on a standard, will illustrate the applicability of the name *σταθμός*.